

Grenzen

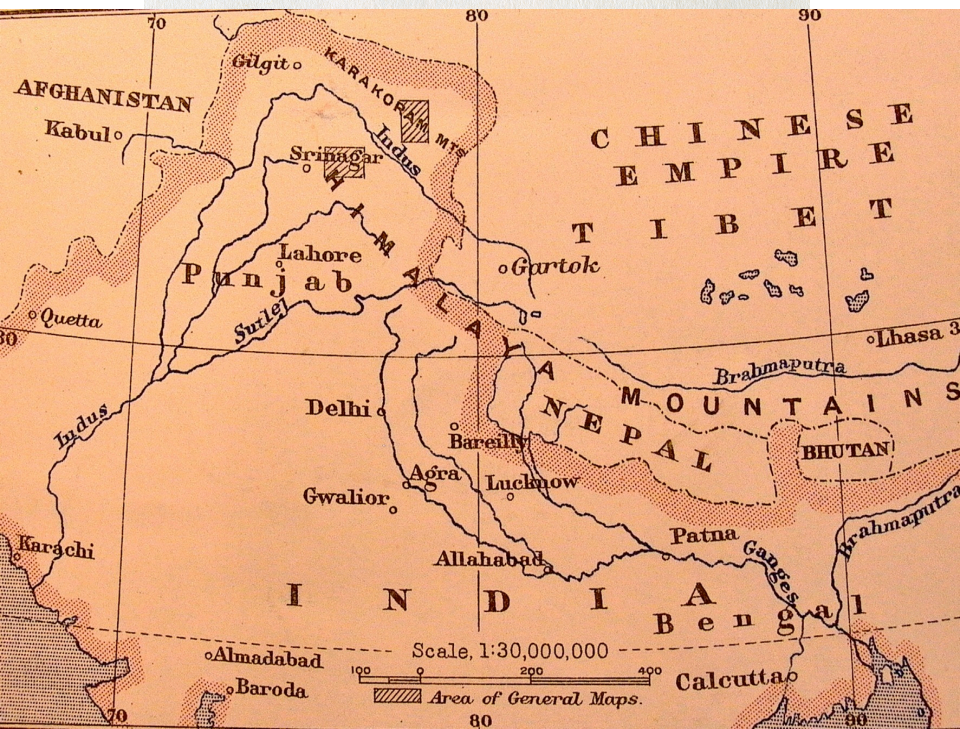
Frontières

Philippe Forêt, pforet@bluewin.ch
Département des langues orientales
Université de Stockholm

**Au delà de
la frontière scientifique,
la frontière du réel
en Asie centrale chinoise**



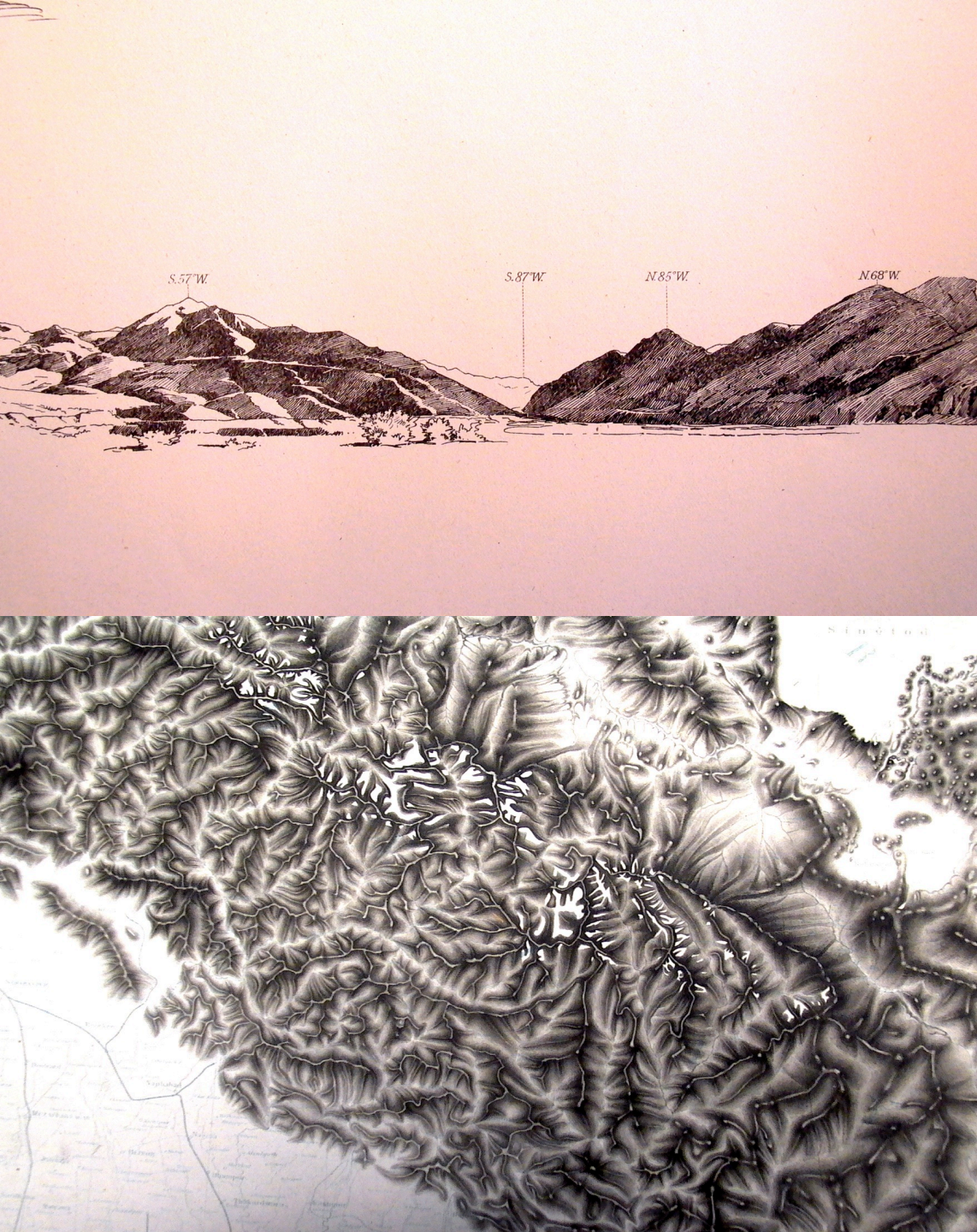
ASIA: the cradle of civilization, the grave of conquest



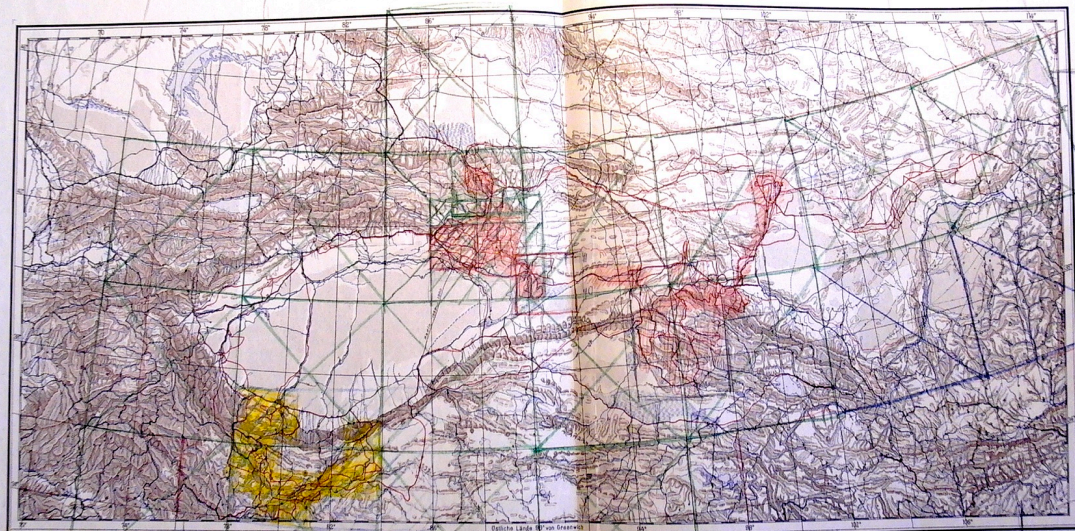
- **The best venue for new concepts: Central Asia**
- Beginning in 1900, the subcontinent became for three decades a new terrain to test theories in the sciences, such as the origin of the white man, the fate of civilization, and the nature of climate change.
- Through its lecture series and discussions and its *Geographical Journal*, the Royal Geographical Society of London (RGS) provided the forums for a lively debate of new ideas.
- “The desiccation of Eurasia” discussion was initiated in 1904 by Piotr Kropotkin. The same year Halford Mackinder identified in Central Asia the pivot of history.



- **Is the Earth Drying Up? How have ancient societies collapsed?**
- To answer these fundamental questions, the correct delineating of the frontiers of ancient Asia was a key issue for field geographers, geologists and archeologists.
- Mapping what happened to the oases, rivers and terminal lakes was conducted to investigate how communities adjusted or failed to adjust to environmental changes.

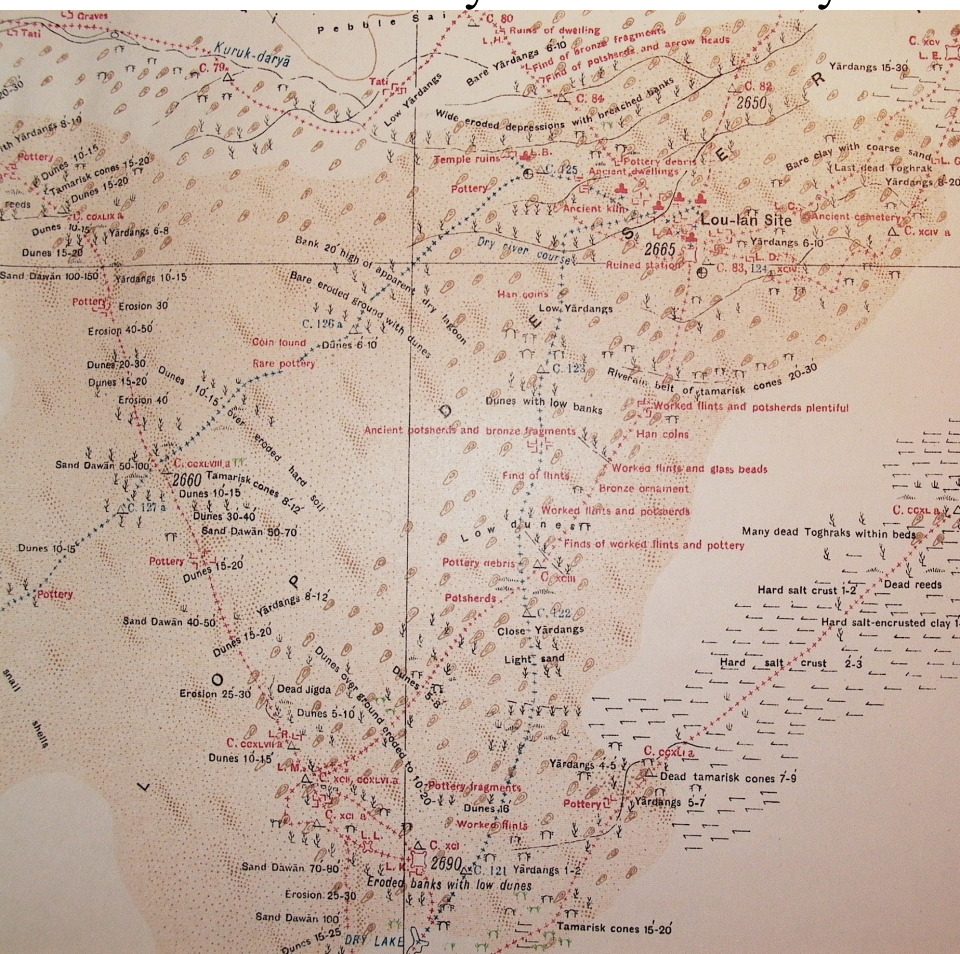


- **Methodology**
- Examining expedition reports, maps and photographs help us reconstruct:
- 1. The environmental and cultural history of the subcontinent
- 2. The scholarly debate on civilization and climate that occurred at the Royal Geographical Society of London
- 3. The link between environmental frontier and cultural frontier



- **A short list of the scientists active in Central Asia:**
- 1893-1897, 1899-1901, 1905-1908: Sven Hedin
- 1900-1901, 1906-1908, 1913-1915: Aurel Stein
- 1903 and 1905-1906: Ellsworth Huntington
- 1907-1909: Piotr Kozlov
- 1921-1930: Roy Chapman Andrews
- 1926-1928: Wilhelm Filchner
- 1927-1935: Folke Bergman, Erik Norin, Nils Hörner, Parker Chen and the “Sino-Swedish scientific expedition to the North-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin.”

- **The survey of Chinese Turkistan: Aurel Stein's map of Lop nor and Loulan**
- Mapping Central Asia was a systematic task that was backed by tools, methods, concepts and language accessible to all. Map captions clearly stated what were the surveyors' first priority: portraying the environmental history and locating the settlements of the entire region.
- During three successive campaigns (1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-15), the routes followed by Aurel Stein's party of surveyors repeatedly crisscrossed the Lop desert for better accuracy and consistency.

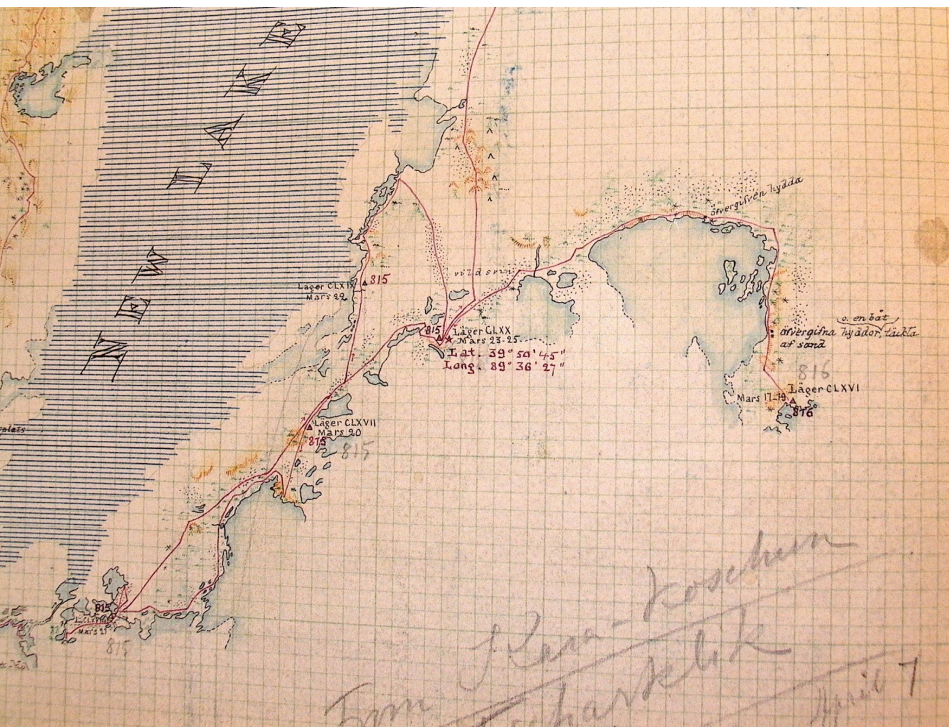


Reg. No. 1092 D. D. D. 1918 (2 D. O.)-S.I.- 800	
Latitude Stn. Azimuth Stn. Triangulation Stn.....	① ② ③
Heights: by theodolite; by clinometer.....	13277 . 12300 c
Heights: by barometer or hypsometer.....	12770
Perpetual snow (approximate)	
Drift-sand area	
Erosion terraces: Mesa; Yārdang.....	
Hard salt crust.....	
Hard salt-encrusted clay.....	
Soft salt-encrusted clay.....	
Cultivation: unsurveyed.....	
Edges of cultivation, etc., where surveyed.....	
Reeds or low scrub: living; dead.....	
Sandy tract with scrub or jungle.....	
Tamarisk cones: living; dead.....	
Wild poplars (Toghraks): living; dead.....	
Tamarisks: living; dead. Conifers.....	

- **The dry bed of Lake Lop Nor**
- Ellsworth Huntington, photograph opposite the *Pulse of Asia*' s front page
- Huntington' s photograph of the forbidding terrain gives an idea of the challenges met first by Sven Hedin and Aurel Stein and later by the map-makers of Stockholm and Dehra Dun.



THE SALT PLAIN OF LOP



THE PULSE OF ASIA

A JOURNEY IN CENTRAL ASIA ILLUSTRATING
THE GEOGRAPHIC BASIS OF HISTORY

BY

ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON

ILLUSTRATED



Deposition från
K. M. V. VITTRHETS HISTORIE
OCH ANTIKVIETETS AKADEMIEN

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

- **Ellsworth Huntington**
- Had the frontier between civilized and barbarian societies moved according to climatic pulsations?
- *The Pulse of Asia's* ambitious and immature claims irritated many geographers. They disapproved of Huntington without being able to prove him wrong.
- In 1911, the RGS asked in a private letter Sven Hedin what he thought of Ellsworth Huntington's views on climate crises and the rise and fall of civilization. A topic "not worth your time" was the short answer.

ÖFVER LAND TILL INDIEN

GENOM PERSIEN, SEISTAN OCH BELUTJISTAN

AF

SVEN HEDIN

MED NÄRA 300 ILLUSTRATIONER

(HVARAF 90 HEL- OCH DUBBELSIDESBILDER)

SAMT 2 KARTOR

FÖRRA DELEN



STOCKHOLM
ALBERT BONNIERS FÖRLAG

- ***Overland to India, 1910***

Like Huntington, Hedin was a prolific writer eager to please his popular audience. Although *Overland to India* was not as successful as *Trans-Himalayas* published the same year, Hedin's account of his journey through Iran served several purposes, which were not all clearly stated.



"APERIAM TERRAS GENTIBUS."

CHAPTER XLIX

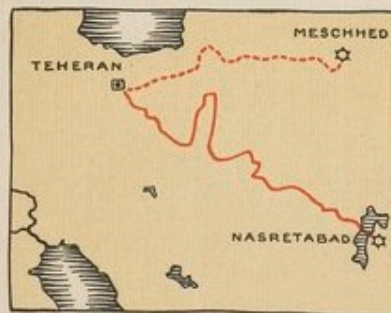
ALEXANDER'S MARCH THROUGH SOUTHERN BALUCHISTAN

Most European travellers who have passed through Persia have noticed the number of ruins of towns and villages, caravanserais and mosques, towers, walls, and irrigation canals all along the roads and in districts which are now quite uninhabitable. This is the case, to a greater extent than elsewhere, in the eastern provinces, southern Khorasan, Kerman, Seistan, and Mekran, and no one has represented this with greater clearness than E. Huntington in his valuable work *The Pulse of Asia*, where he devotes a whole chapter to it. He relies on historical data, and, beginning with Alexander the Great, he seeks to prove that it would be impossible at the present time to conduct a whole army along the coast of Baluchistan. He alludes to the utterance of St. John that a Craterus would in our days find it troublesome enough to lead his elephants and his heavy baggage from the Hilmend to Narmashir through

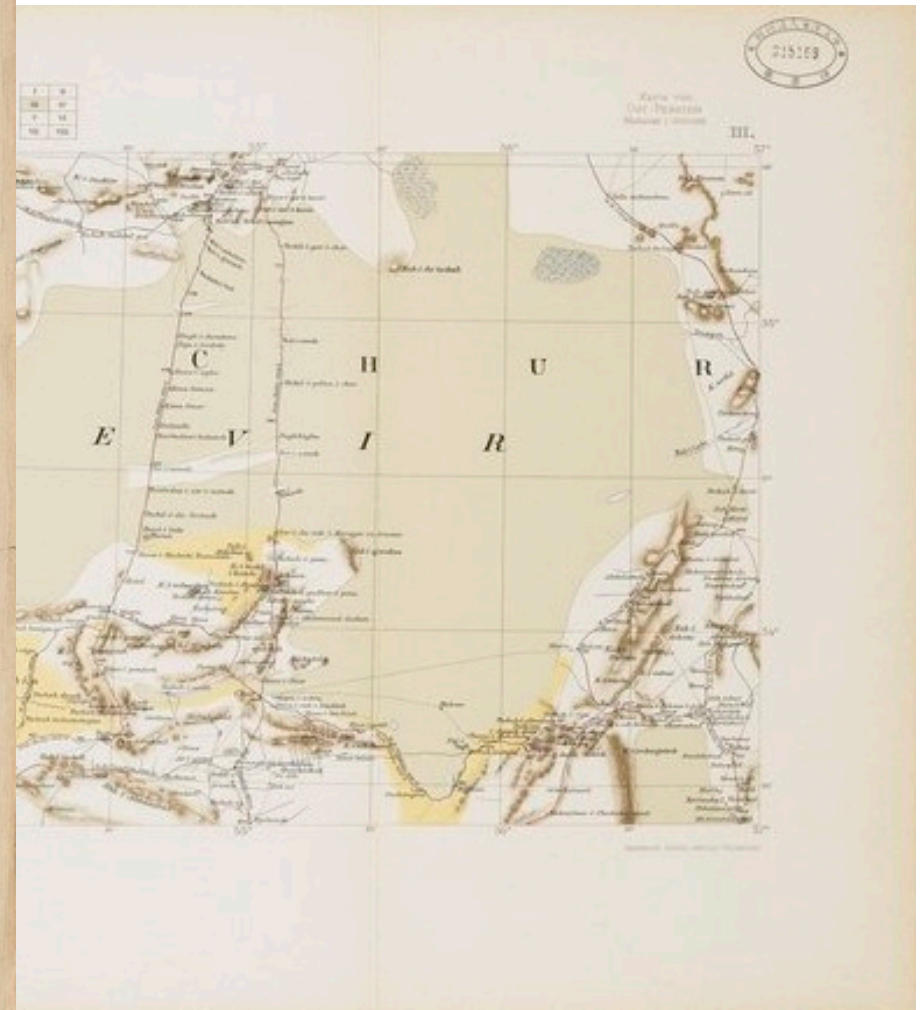
- The scientific companion to *Overland to India: Eine Routenaufnahme durch Ostpersien* in two volumes plus an atlas

EINE
ROUTENAUFNAHME
DURCH
OSTPERSIEN
VON
SVEN HEDIN

BAND I.



STOCKHOLM
GENERALSTABENS LIT. ANSTALT



- **Southern Tibet, in 12 volumes**

Likewise, Hedin compiled and published the scientific companion to *Trans-himalayas, Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*.

PROSPECTUS

SOUTHERN TIBET

DISCOVERIES IN FORMER TIMES COMPARED
WITH MY OWN RESEARCHES IN 1906—1908

BY

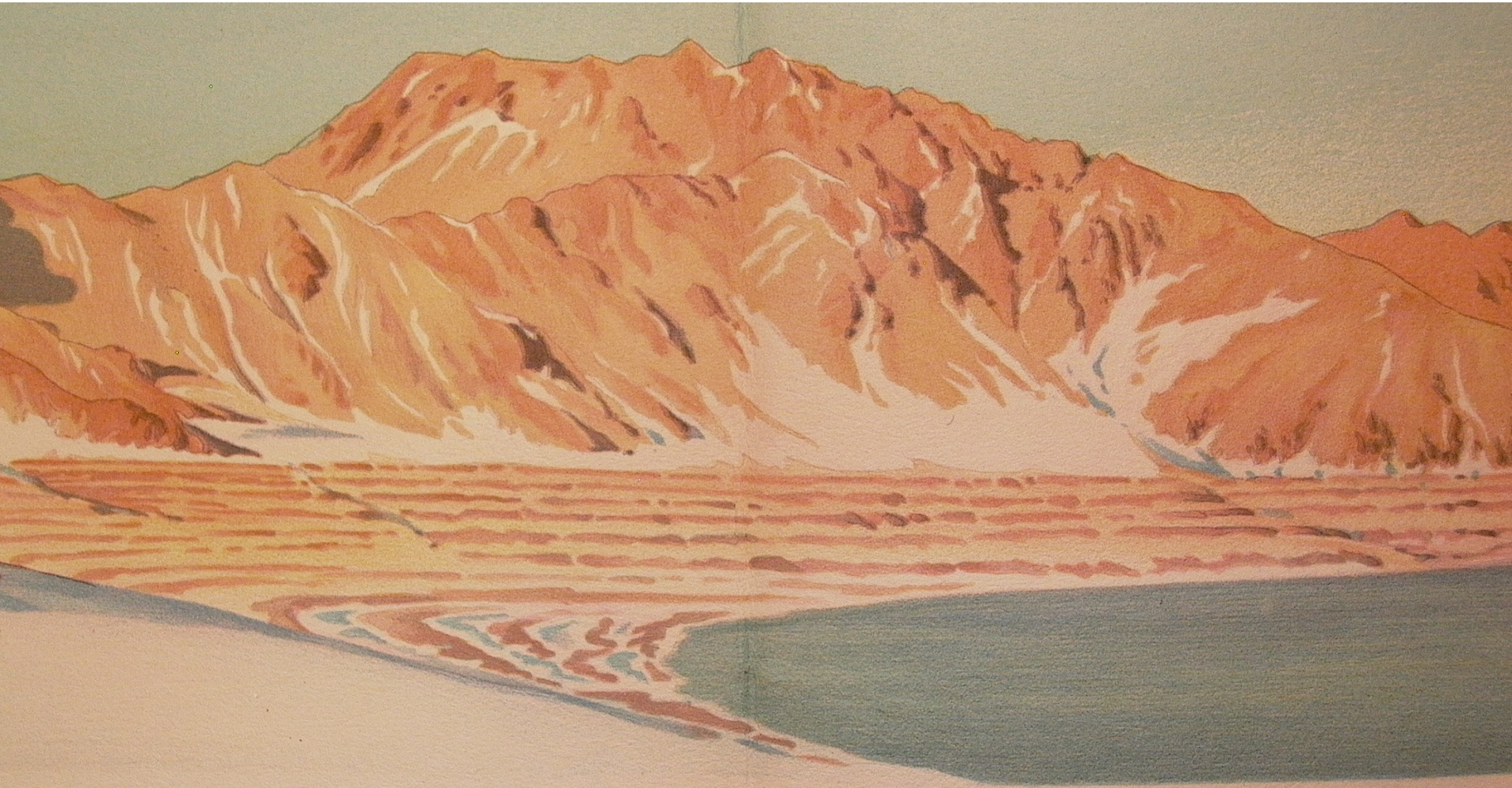
SVEN HEDIN

NINE VOLUMES OF TEXT AND
THREE VOLUMES OF MAPS

STOCKHOLM

LITHOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE SWEDISH ARMY

- **Careful mapping of the lakes of the Tibetan plateau would help dating the desiccation of Central Asia since last glaciation**
Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, Vol. 4



SHEMEN-TSO FROM CAMP 320.

- **Hedin measured the depth of Lake Manasarovar to assess how its water level could fluctuate with climate change**
Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, Vol. 4



LAKE MANASAROVAR AND MOUNT KAILAS AS SEEN FROM TUGU-GOMPA.

- **Hedin' research program spelled out**

1. Proving that the duration of the historical period is so short that human settlements have been not affected by slowly-moving climate change. Only periodic variations can be evidenced, and this at the local level.

2. In other words, proving that Huntington is wrong, without saying so explicitly.

— Vol. II. *My Journey to the Manasarovar and to the Sources of the Satlej and the Indus* (chap. XXII-XXX). — Les sondages de SVEN HEDIN prouvent que le Manasarovar est probablement le lac le plus profond du Tibet; du moins peut-on affirmer qu'il laisse bien loin derrière lui, sous ce rapport, tous les autres lacs que l'explorateur avait sondés au cours de ses précédents voyages: en 1900, il avait trouvé 48 mètres pour un lac d'eau douce situé dans la partie orientale du plateau, et, en 1901, 47 mètres pour le Panggong-tso. Le Manasarovar ne mesure pas moins de 81 mètres, la partie la plus profonde correspondant à la moitié Sud de la cuvette⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. Quant au Rakas-tal, la violence du vent, à l'époque où SVEN HEDIN en parcourait les bords, ne lui a pas permis de le sonder, sauf au voisinage de son extrémité Nord (prof., 28 m.).

A propos des oscillations du niveau de ces deux lacs (chap. XXV), qu'on peut assimiler à des appareils enregistreurs particulièrement sensibles (p. 171), SVEN HEDIN se trouve conduit à aborder le grave

L'OEUVRE DE SVEN HEDIN

ET

L'OROGRAPHIE DU TIBET

PAR

M. EMMANUEL DE MARGERIE

CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT

DIRECTEUR DU SERVICE DE LA CARTE GÉOLOGIQUE D'ALSACE ET DE LORRAINE

PRÉSIDENT DE LA SECTION

Extrait du Bulletin de la Section de Géographie
du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1928.



PARIS

IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE

MDCCCXXIX

- **The Sino-Swedish Expedition (1927-1935)**














The SSE was a renewed and last attempt to check in Central Asia the validity of climate change as being a progressive phenomenon with drastic consequences on human societies.







Our camp at Italler on the Oboln-gol was guarded by mighty poplars *Bergman Photo*

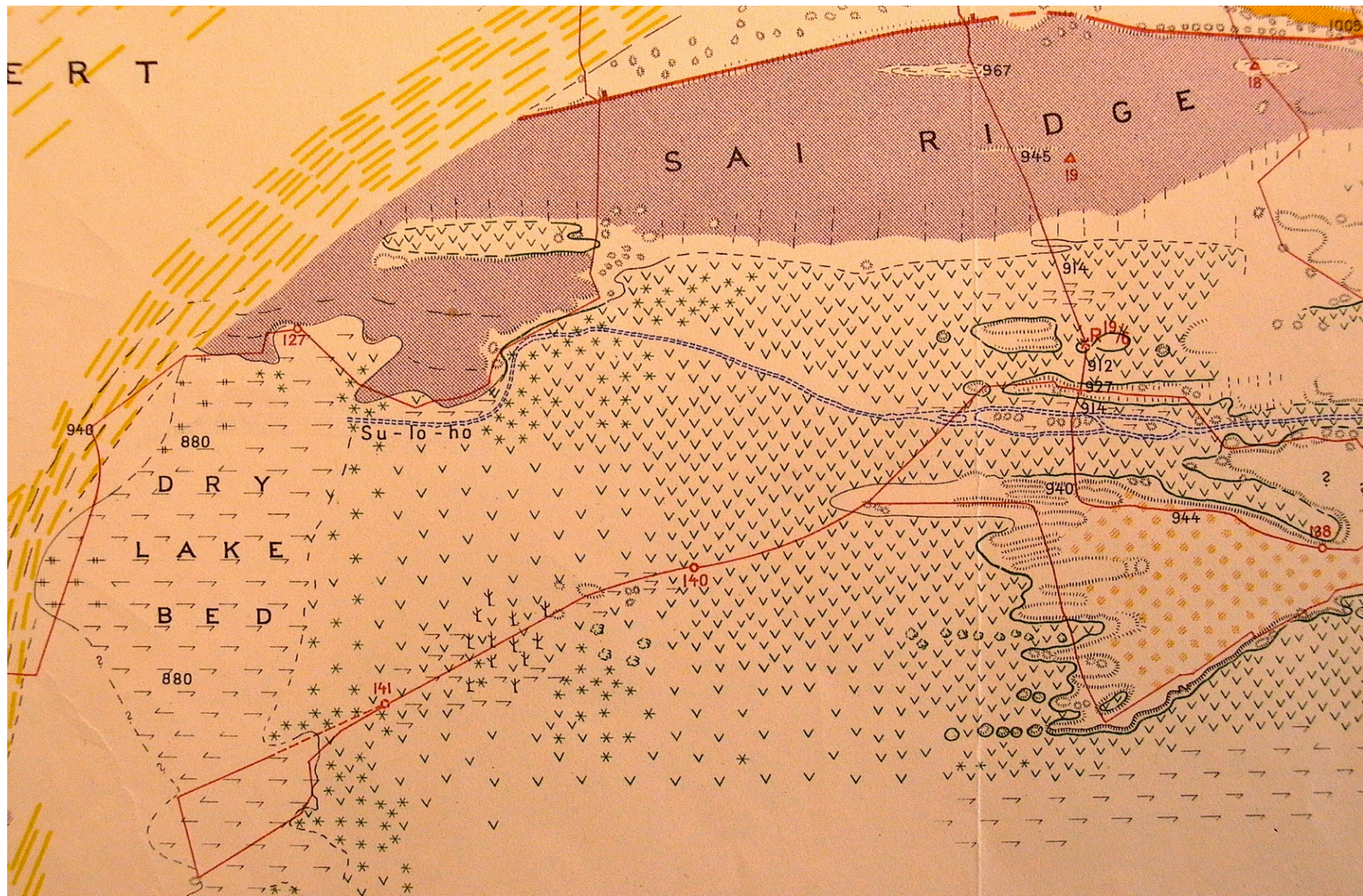
K U M T A G H D

L E G E N D

-  A-SURFACE ? AND ITS EROSION PRODUCTS
-  B-SURFACE
-  C-SURFACE
-  SURFACE PROBABLY RELATED TO C.
-  SEMI-LEVEL OR SLIGHTLY UNDULATING
SAI NOT REFERABLE TO A.B. OR C.
-  SAND DUNES
-  THIN COVER OF FINE EOLIAN SAND ON
SLOPE
-  VEGETATION, MOSTLY REEDS ON FLAT
BOTTOM OF DEPRESSION
-  SCRUBS AND TAMARISK CONES
-  TREES: LIVING, DEAD
-  HARD SALT CRUST AND GYPSUM CRUST
-  SALT ENCRUSTED SAND (IN BESH TOGHRAK
VALLEY ONLY SLIGHT ENCRUSTATION)
-  SHARP FLEXURES AND FAULTS

-  Triangulation Point T Watch Tower
-  Route Mapped by Hörner, Camp
-  Route Mapped by Chen
-  Line of Spirit Levelling by Chen

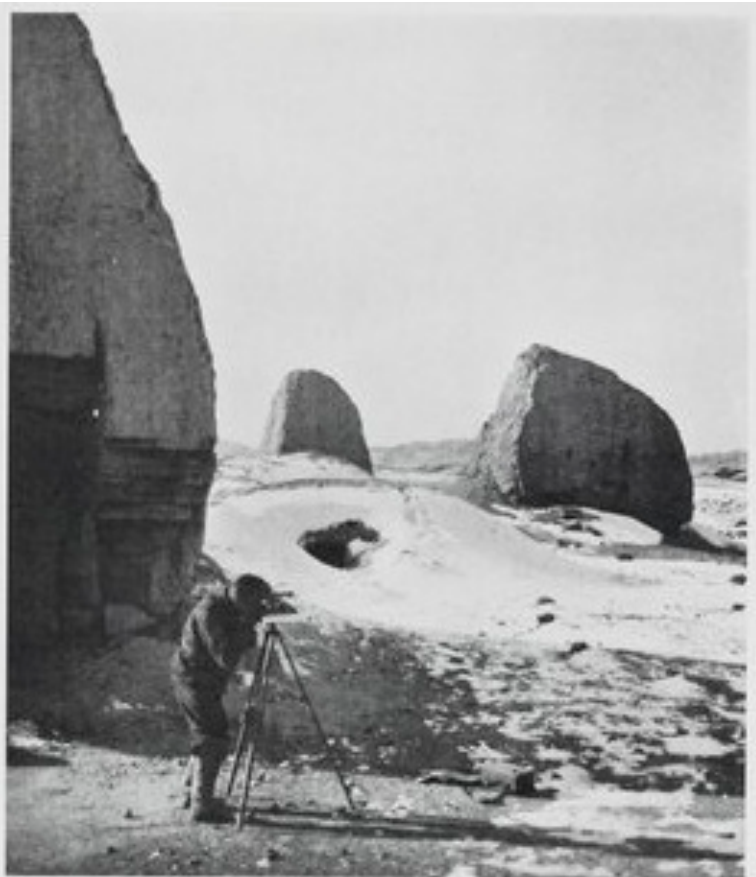
987 Figures of Elevation (in Meters) Referring to a Zerolevel 1000 m below Camp 130 on C-Surface at Toghrak Bulak (not to Sea-Level). Elevations along Levelling Lines Spirit Leveled, along Routes by Aneroid, Mountain Tops (not Visited) by Theodolite





- **Significant publications resulting from fieldwork done in Central Asia**
- 1904: “The geographical pivot of world history”
- 1904-14: “Is the Earth drying up?”
- 1907: *The Pulse of Asia*
- 1915: *Civilization and Climate*
- 1925: *Toward the Dead City of Kara Khoto*
- 1926: “Climate pulsation during historical times in China”
- 1926: *On the Trail of Ancient Man*
- 1935: “Some river changes and lake displacements in Central Asia”
- 1945: *Travels and Archaeological Fieldwork in Mongolia and Sinkiang*

- **The legacy**
- Bergman, Hörner, Norin, Chen, Ambolt, etc. who all worked with Hedin produced a number of reports and articles.
- Their publications would support the thesis of climate change occurring in historical times and with disastrous consequences for Central Asia.
- Their data is ignored by climate scientists today as much as it was by geographers 80 years ago.



Hansen Photo

Bergman making a plan of the ruined fortress at Ming-shui



The convoy encamped at the Ming-shui ruin in the Pei-shan

Bergman Photo

REPORTS FROM THE SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH-WESTERN
PROVINCES OF CHINA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF DR. SVEN HEDIN
— THE SINO-SWEDISH EXPEDITION —
PUBLICATION 23

HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION IN ASIA 1927—1935

BY
SVEN HEDIN

PART I
1927—1928

STOCKHOLM 1943

- **A final statement in contradiction with the findings of his co-workers and his own**

“Life on the endless caravan-routes and in the tents of the camel-men is as picturesque and variegated as it is agreeable and stimulating to the imagination. These born salesmen have lived and worked thus for centuries, and life was just the same in the caravans which marched with bells ringing through the wide spaces of Asia in olden times, maybe long before the dates mentioned in the oldest records preserved. The conditions were the same then as now; men and camels, country and climate — none has undergone any change worth mentioning.”

History of the Expedition in Asia, Vol. 3, p. 22



A hand-drawn topographic map on a grid background. The map features several contour lines and shaded areas representing elevation. A prominent blue-shaded area at the bottom center is labeled 'H. Konung OSCAR^s berg'. To the right, a red-shaded area is labeled 'I'. Handwritten notes in Swedish are scattered across the map, including '5300 m. i några hundra meter öfver hufvuddalens botten' and 'snögränsen på omkring'. The map also includes some numerical coordinates like 'S. 73°' and 'S. 27°'.

Merci de votre attention

H. Konung OSCAR^s berg

*Dominerande topp af ett mäktigt snöbetäckt
bergmassiv på sydkedjan*